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Indian students take upgrading courses at Port Arthur's Adult Training Centre.

The Indians were here FIRST Treat them as 'Citizens Plus'

by G. E. MORTIMER*

CANADA SHOULD SPEND HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR TO HELP its 210,000 Indians lift themselves from poverty.

But the Indians themselves must decide how they want to live: as wilderness men, or as hard-driving money-earners in the city, or somewhere between.

And Canada must respect the special rights of the country's first citizens.

These are the main points in a 200,000-word, 404-page report on Indian affairs compiled by a research team of 40 social scientists under the direction of Dr. Harry B. Hawthorn of the University of British Columbia and Dr. Marc-Adelard Tremblay of Laval University.

The report, officially named *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, Part One*, was more than 2½ years in the making. It covers economic, political and educational needs and policies. The second part, dealing with issues in education and with internal organization on the reserves, will be published in a few months' time.

The survey of a cross-section sample of 35,683 Indians in 35 of Canada's 551 bands, showed Indians lagging far behind the general Canadian standard of living.

The sample included poor bands in lonely places, relatively well-off groups and socially disorganized bands leading stagnant, dependent lives.

Although there are Indian doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, businessmen and many workers earning good wages, the majority of Indians are poor.

In the Hawthorn-Tremblay sample, earnings were \$300 a year for each person, compared to a Canadian average of \$1,400. Only 11½ per cent of the households had incomes above \$4,000; more than one third were on relief; 61 per cent of wage earners were employed fewer than six months of the year. Only 14 per cent held skilled jobs. A big percentage of the people were imprisoned in poorly paid seasonal jobs, prevented from moving to better-paid work by lack of education, lack of vocational skills, fear, apathy, self-doubt, racial prejudice and physical isolation.

Half of them worked in the resource-based industries of forestry, fishing, trapping, guiding, food gathering and handicrafts.

In many segments of these industries, job openings are diminishing, mechanization is on the increase and people who lack education and capital — including Indians — are being squeezed out. In

many areas natural resources are dwindling under the pressure of increased use. Industries are moving into Indians' hunting grounds to dig ore, cut trees and flood river valleys. But they hire few Indians.

What should be done? Educate and train the Indians for jobs; help them move to job markets if they want to go; try to break down prejudice and create understanding; spend money on resource development for Indians who want to stay at home. Improve housing and public services; build local government and commerce where possible; encourage co-operation between Indians and non-Indians.

Provincial governments should help in development, or run development programs, if they are willing and able. Unfortunately, few provinces are willing. The federal government should push development programs when provinces hold back.

Ontario has pioneered in offering Indians full civil rights and in seeking partnership with Ottawa to extend provincial welfare and development services to Indians. Yet the province has not so far been able to work substantial changes in the lives of thousands of Indians who live in shantytowns and rural slums.

Indians should be full citizens of each province, and should move under provincial jurisdiction for welfare purposes; yet they should not lose anything by the transfer. The quality of the services they get should go up, not down. Every change should win the Indians' full consent before it is made.

"The main emphasis in economic development should be on education, vocational training and techniques of mobility to enable Indians to take employment in wage and salaried jobs. Development of locally available resources should be viewed as playing a secondary role for those who do not choose to seek outside employment.

"Special facilities will be needed to ease the process of social adjustment as the tempo of off-reserve movement increases. Where possible these should be provided by agencies other than the Indian Affairs Branch. However, if other agencies prove inadequate, either due to incapacity or unwillingness, the Indian Affairs Branch must step in itself regardless of whether the situations requiring special attention are on or off the reserve."

For the Indians who want to stay in the wilderness and in rural places, there still will be trapping, hunting, fishing, guiding, logging and farm work to do.

The Hawthorn-Tremblay Report suggests help in developing the home areas: machinery, money and training to help

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Mr. Justice Bora Laskin



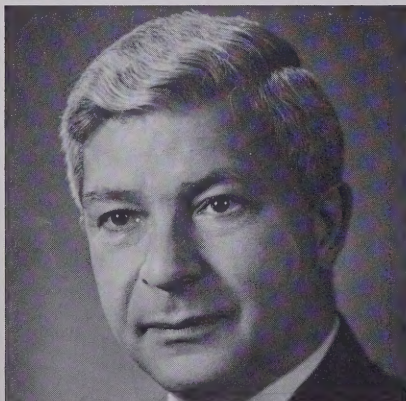
Dr. Sadie Alexander



Mark Bonham Carter



Kenneth A. MacDonald



Kalmen Kaplansky



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Conference on Human Rights Opens in Toronto July 4th

SEVERAL HUNDRED DELEGATES FROM ACROSS THE CONTINENT ARE EXPECTED to attend the 19th Annual Conference of Commissions for Human Rights that will take place at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, from July 4 to 8, 1967, with the Ontario Human Rights Commission acting as host. The purpose of the conference is to enable commissioners and administrators of human rights agencies with enforceable legislation at the municipal, provincial and state, and federal levels to come together to discuss matters of mutual concern in relation to human rights.

The delegates will represent some thirty-two provincial and state human rights commissions, over one hundred municipal commissions, and representatives of federal human rights agencies. A number of representatives from Great Britain will also be present.

The theme of the conference is "Human Rights Agencies and Alienated Communities". Major papers will be presented by Dr. Sadie Alexander, Chairman, Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations; Burton Gordin, Executive Director, Michigan Civil Rights Commission; and Kenneth A. MacDonald, Chairman, Washington State Board Against Discrimination. Canadian perspective will be provided in the workshops by the participation of resource persons from Canadian human rights agencies, ethnic groups and community organizations.

Representatives from Great Britain

The Chairman of the United Kingdom Race Relations Board, Mark Bonham Carter, a well-known international figure in the human rights field, will deliver a major address on the problems currently being faced in Great Britain in relation to one million immigrants from India, Pakistan and the West Indies. It is expected that the British delegation will also include Sir James Mackay, Deputy Under Secretary of State; Miss Joan Lestor, M.P.; J. T. A. Howard-Drake of the Home Office; and John Lyttle, Chief Conciliation Officer of the Race Relations Board. The National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury, have also indicated that they will be represented at the conference.

Addresses will also be given by Kalmen Kaplansky, Director, International Labour Organization (Canada Branch); and Walter Currie, Chairman, Committee on Education, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. The conference summary at the final luncheon will be given by Dr. Louis Fine, Chairman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

A highlight of the conference will be the official banquet on Thursday, July 6th, which will be chaired by the Honourable Dalton Bales, Q.C., Ontario Minister of Labour. The speaker on this occasion will be the Honourable Mr. Justice Bora Laskin, Court of Appeal of Ontario. The banquet will be open to the public. Invitations will be sent out to community leaders and persons on the Commission's mailing list later in the spring, and it is hoped that a large number of people will take advantage of this opportunity to hear Mr. Justice Laskin and meet the conference delegates.



Instructor helps guide prepare meals, Guide Training Course, Quetico Conference and Training Centre, Quetico Park, Eva Lake, Ontario.

the Indians become more efficient producers of furs and fish. Traps, boats, outboard motors, snowmobiles and other gear should be provided at low rates by loan, rental or purchase.

Travelling instructors should help Indians improve their work.

"More efficient and economical storage, processing, transport and marketing facilities should be provided . . . either by government agencies or by private enterprise under strict control on a public utility basis."

In northern communities there is little specialization of labor. Most of the people hunt, trap or fish — or go on relief. They are increasingly dependent on power equipment. When a machine breaks down, the owner tries to do an amateur repair job. He orders the parts from the south individually, at high cost. If he fumbles the job, he may abandon the machine or ship it away for repairs, at more expense.

How much better it would be, the report suggests, to train local mechanics to do the work, and lend them money to stock spare parts. There probably are openings for Indian-owned stores, cafes, gas stations and other businesses, too. Money and training should be provided to help Indians launch such enterprises.

"The Indian Affairs Branch should act as a national conscience to see that social and economic equality is achieved between Indians and whites. This role includes the persistent advocacy of Indian needs, the persistent exposure of shortcomings in the governmental treatment that Indians receive, and persistent removal of ethnic tensions between Indians and whites.

"Indians should be regarded as 'citizens plus'; in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community."

These rights include the taking of fish and game at times and places forbidden to other Canadians; and freedom from taxation on the reserve.

Indian rights were established by treaty, statute and usage.

"They relate ultimately to the fact that the Indians were here first; that a series of bargains were made by the ancestors of the present generation of Indians and whites by which the latter were allowed to develop peacefully the northern half of a richly endowed domain, in compensation for which the original possessors, however their title may be classified by anthropologists or lawyers, were accorded a special status, partially contained in the treaties and partially sanctioned by the Indian Act."

The Hawthorn-Tremblay Report does not explore all these rights in detail. It leaves compensation for past injustices to Canada's proposed Indian Claims Commission. It leaves the question of breaches of fish and game rights to a federal investigating committee.

But it endorses the principle of special Indian status.

In a 1958 report on the Indians of British Columbia, Dr. Hawthorn and his colleagues, Dr. C. S. Belshaw and Dr. S. M. Jamieson, warned that Indian lands and fish and game rights are linked to deep feelings on the Indians' part; they have a symbolic value beyond dollars and cents. Violation of those rights would

stir up so much resentment that it would kill any hope of Indian co-operation in social and economic development programs. Stripping the Indians of their reserves would be not only a breach of trust but a guarantee of failure.

Unfortunately, the Indians' special position has been used in the past as a justification for substandard services in welfare, education and other fields. In theory the Indians have been citizens plus. In practice they have been citizens minus.

The task now is to raise the Indians' level without taking anything away from them.

Thousands of Indians live in remote places; but thousands more live in or near cities. They include a few well-to-do middle-class people, many former wilderness-dwellers who have drifted into town and lodged in the slums, and resident Indian bands that have watched cities grow up near their reserves.

Some of the poorest groups are within sight and sound of big towns or industrial plants. Pushed and harried by violent social change, short of education and job skills, reduced to a dependent state of mind by generations of low-budget paternalism, many Indians are too discouraged or too indifferent to seize money-making chances.

Many are not interested in the white man's clock-punching; competitive world. They live by their own rules; share with neighbors and relatives; work by the rhythm of tides and seasons; work hard for a time; then take it easy for a time; work outdoors when possible at tough, adventurous jobs; be your own boss if you can.

Indians must be allowed to choose their own way of life. Canada's responsibility is to increase the number of choices that are open to them. At present, many Indians are trapped in the narrow world of poverty.

In the Walpole Island (Ontario) band, one of the richest groups (financially) in the Hawthorn-Tremblay sample, income per person was \$715 a year. Fewer than four per cent of children over the age of 16 were in school; only 3.6 per cent of the people had been educated past Grade 9. The Pikangikum (Ontario) band, one of the poorer groups, had a per capita income of \$197; fewer than one per cent of children over 16 were in school; not one person had gone past Grade 9.

"Even where Indians have the necessary educational or skill qualifications for employment, they face widespread discrimination from potential fellow workers as well as from employers. Many firms follow a defigite policy (informally or unofficially, where such policies are il-

legal in terms of provincial legislation) of refusing to hire Indians at all, or in token numbers at best."

This kind of discrimination results from stereotyped opinions—the tendency to see all Indians alike as shiftless, unreliable or drunken. The Indians sense this feeling. Sometimes it turns them bitter or hostile; so the stereotyped opinions come true and the prophecies of failure fulfill themselves.

"Whites also tend to have an unfavorable impression of Indians as residents or potential neighbors, and thus discriminate against them in the provision of housing and various services. Such discrimination may develop out of the habits of some Indians—standards of dress, personal hygiene, comportment, housing and household management, and child care."

Indians often are frozen out of small towns and company towns — the very places where some of them might be able to work most comfortably in resource-based industries and at the same time preserve their links with home, go hunting, fishing or guiding in spare time and serve as models of white-man's-style prosperity for the people at home.

Indians encounter less prejudice in big cosmopolitan cities; but the problem there is loneliness. Migrants need friendship; they sometimes need counseling and help in settling down and learning city ways. Disorganized, troubled people need social welfare aid in patching up their lives.

Certain Indian bands own valuable property. If they want to leave it undeveloped, and shut out cash registers and neon signs—they must have their way. Some things are more important than money. If they want to start their own businesses, they should get capital and technical help. If they want to lease some of their land to commercial tenants, they should get help in doing that, too. Tenants who offer adequate training plans and jobs for Indians should get priority. In the past, some lands have been leased without providing a single Indian job.

Some Indians — traditionally less assertive and less individually aggressive, and used to being ordered around by dictatorial officials or merchants, are shy about standing up for their rights.

Some Indians, particularly in Alberta and Saskatchewan, work as migrant field hands in poor conditions. "Rates of pay are far below standards applying in other industries. . . . Housing and other facilities are seriously substandard. . . . The Indians earn barely enough to live on while working, and generally end the season as destitute as they began and have to go on relief."

The Indian Affairs Branch for most of its history has been an isolated, orphan, caretaker agency, acting as trustee for Indian lands and money. It has had little energy or money to spare for development. Other agencies of Government—federal and provincial—have ignored or by-passed it. As a result, Indians failed to receive many of the provincial and federal benefits that other Canadians received.

Since World War 2, its standards have gone up. There has been better communication with other federal and provincial agencies, and as a result there have been more benefits for Indians. There has been more stress on education and economic development; more encouragement to Indians to run their own affairs.

The official policy is to encourage independence; but in practice the system still is paternalism.

The superintendent of each Indian agency is still the boss. He is overworked and understaffed. He has to dispense benefits and services, toil over paperwork, deal with priests, storekeepers, nurses, teachers and policemen. Indian superintendents vary in ability; but all of them are so busy that they are compelled to be authoritarian managers; they haven't time to do a democratic, educative job.

They possess power to hand out relief money under circumstances reminiscent of Elizabethan Poor Laws. Too often in the past they have been stingy and autocratic. As the provinces assume more responsibility and as local self-government advances, the superintendents should yield up their power. They should become advisors rather than managers. Unfortunately most provinces (Ontario is an exception) have balked at taking over welfare.

The Branch in many places has supplied sizeable amounts of capital and technical aid. "Its efforts have frequently been frustrated by Indian apathy, suspicion and non-co-operation, and by internal conflicts within the Branch which such new experiments have tended to generate."

Much of the Branch's economic development work has been haphazard, unco-ordinated and unplanned.

The money spent on Indians as a whole—and on economic development in particular—is inadequate. In the 1964 Indian Affairs Branch Budget of \$62 million, \$30 million went for education, \$20 million for welfare—but only \$1.5 million for economic development—\$7 for each Indian. Economists estimate that it takes an investment of \$10,000 to make one job.

Provinces control most of the resources

that the Indians need; but the provincial governments do too little to help. "They should assume prior responsibility for the social and economic costs that are a direct by-product of (resource) development, such as depletion or spoilage of resources on which Indians depend for their livelihood . . . and influxes of population that cause social disorganization. . . ."

Too often, provinces take the revenue from development projects and dump the resulting problems on federal or local governments. Too often, federal and provincial governments and agencies snipe at one another and score points against one another. The report indicates that they must learn to be more diplomatic and statesmanlike.

Most whites live in settled areas. They benefit from investments of thousands of dollars per person in private and public facilities. Most Indians live in simple environments. Comparatively little has been spent on them. They have a long way to catch up. There is no cheap shortcut. Spending hundreds of millions of dollars a year is the only way.

Economic development of the Indians is merely one part of the war on poverty; but it must include provision for the Indians' special needs. Can the Indian Affairs Branch, with all its faults, be reorganized to do the job? The authors of the report believe it can; they say the Branch is the only agency ready and able to do such work. Some members of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada disagree; they say the Indian Affairs Branch is too rigid, ponderous and bureaucratic; it should dwindle to a small trustee agency charged with looking after Indian lands. Development should pass to a series of nearly autonomous regional corporations.

There may be room for compromise. The Indian Affairs Branch itself is trying to decentralize. Its critics acknowledge that there should be a central co-ordinating and resource-supplying body. Perhaps the Branch could hand over some of its development work to regional authorities, while keeping control of the departments that need central direction.

Two new agencies are proposed by the Hawthorn-Tremblay team; an Indian Progress Agency to keep track of Indian well-being, and report to the nation; and a Local Government Bureau within the Branch to help Indians learn administrative skills and get the advantages of local self-government without sacrificing the rights they hold as Indians. These agencies might well gain the approval both of the Branch and the Indian-Eskimo Association.

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